

Herbert Kaufman's Weekly Message

Before we are really schooled we must be ruled and fooled—cheated and defeated. Through pain we grow wiser.

Faith, Not Fate, Is Supreme.

FATALISM is a shirker's creed. Individuals are not appointed to specific and pre-arranged destinies. Faith, not Fate, is supreme. To believe that every career is surveyed and recorded in advance of birth is manifestly ridiculous.

It would be a sardonic Providence that itched us with vain ambitions. Nothing within the range of reason is beyond the reach of hands. Imagination is nature's suggestion box—a chest of clues which, if steadfastly followed, invariably lead to accomplishment.

What notion could be more fantastic than the moving picture or the phonograph? How can incredibility of any feat persist after the recent demonstration of wireless telephony?

Our children will eventually talk to the stars and probably walk upon them.

Proceed with your inspirations. You weren't meant to think of anything you couldn't do. We temporarily are short of facilities to render some ideas feasible, but as soon as we begin thinking in a particular direction the combined interest of the generation will evolve a tangible basis for further and more definite investigation.

God put a bit of Himself in all men. The creative faculty is a Divine instinct. Thought is Omnipotent.

Advertising Doesn't Raise Prices

TIME detects all untruths and has just exposed another one. Manufacturers of unbranded articles have all along insisted that advertising increases the cost of merchandise. Now we know that this threadbare argument is as false as the average substitute.

If it were valid we'd see advances in a thousand staples. But, on the contrary, about the only articles which are still being sold on their usual basis are the packaged and canned necessities with which we are most familiar.

Makers who can count upon a steady demand for their goods can afford to ask the same for them all the time, or rather can't afford the greater expense of a sufficiently reaching campaign to explain why they must get more for their products.

The fixed price plan works two ways, and just now it's working very much to our advantage.

When Prejudice Tackles Progress

WHEN will prejudice quit tackling progress? A big notion can't be checked. You'd think that after the episode with Columbus and its encounter with the telephone, the airbrake and all the other sound thrashings "conservatism" has received, the bigots would understand that their day is gone. As well try to check a comet as impede a vital improvement. The right idea is invincible. Our course winds ever on and upward.

Ballots and Bayonets

By HERBERT KAUFMAN

If logic had a voice in the making of wars, this one would close the *ghastliest* chapter in human evolution.

No possible indemnity of territory or cash can compensate for the annihilation of myriads.

The value of a man intensifies with progress. It costs more to educate and maintain, therefore to kill, each successive generation.

The better a country's transportation facilities, the more soldiers it can mass before the enemy guns, and modern weapons are so horribly capable that a single battle now slaughters a greater horde than an entire campaign wiped out in more leisurely eras.

Such carnage is too expensive for any possible national profit.

A hundred years ago we could generate as rapidly as we decimated: while one outfit of adults was being destroyed, another had a chance to mature.

But the pace at which trained men of all classes and degrees are being reduced to bone piles in Europe is too swift to permit the upgrowth of a counterbalancing number of substitutes.

Napoleon was not overthrown until his activities had practically consumed all the stalwarts in the empire.

France awakened from the mad dream which his pretensions inspired to find herself bankrupt in males.

There were only left weaklings, cripples, a starving youth and decrepit, old men with whom to sire the future.

She was not yet restored to type, when the third Napoleon grappled with Prussia.

Von Moltke's giant legions encountered a race which had not had sufficient time for reincarnation.

The new France is the old France; but it required a century to incubate the ancient stock to breed her grenadiers again.

If, as authorities predict, there are to be at least two more years of butchery; if as many more millions are to be slain and mangled before a decision is gained—if every important power on the continent is to devote its sturdiest and stanchest sons to the sacrifice, what sorts of men will be left to take up the massive responsibilities of repair and repopulation?

Will a generally prostrated Europe learn what humanity has never been willing to believe—that if men will live as earnestly for civilization as they are ready to die for hate, the call to arms need never sound in another realm?

Bayonets decide nothing which ballots cannot adjust.

The only hope that we can derive from this staggering holocaust is in the thought that we are riding the world of its malcontents—of those who believe in matter over mind, who still insist that the sword is mightier than the pen, that reason is treason against force.

If, after this supreme attempt to justify trial by combat, nations will not acknowledge that war has become too awful, too impersonal, too mechanical, too costly even to the victors, then God pity us!

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Quit It!

WE will lose all the ground we've gained and waste the profits of the past two years if we don't quit this unreasonable, unreasonable squabbling, come to our Yankee senses and adjust the differences which have suddenly sprung up between labor and capital.

This is hold-together, not hold-up, time. A similar opportunity to grasp control of international trade will never reoccur. Keep busy. The money is coming our way—a little while longer and we'll accumulate a surplus which will warrant America's prosperity for the century.

We must strengthen ourselves for the inevitable industrial challenge which will follow upon the close of the war. Foreign labor urged by hand-to-mouth necessities, directed by powerful bunds, societies and alliances, will soon hurl its implacable ranks against us—will measure neither efforts nor hours—nor can we.

A strike in the harvest field means a ruined crop. Big-headed employers and pig-headed employees imperil the fulfillment of our mightiest promise.

First, last and always we are a mutual corporation—interdependent. Duties may vary with capacity, but our main aim is identical—to make the most for and out of each other.

The very state itself is a device for communal selfishness.

Something is out of kilter up top when bodies of workers and their chiefs on both sides cannot amicably arrive at understandings.

If the incapable men are at the head of affairs—out with them.

Both factions are in the wrong when great interests truckle on the eve of a struggle likely to engage all the resources of the country.

The wealth that poured into Rome destroyed her unity and invited the invasions which could have been readily repelled by a single-minded populace.

Deadlocks merely enervate the opposing groups. The interminable idleness dissipates such vast sums that funds are soon unavailable to satisfy the demands of one side or furnish sufficient capital for the entrepreneur to resume his business on its previous scale—everybody loses in the end. The fight way is not the right way to insure prosperity.

Magdalen

TONIGHT I walk in the Dusk of Shame;

Is mine the blame.

That I may not return by the road I came?

You, who stand pitiless at the gate,

Deaf, dumb and blind in your Puritan hate,

What can you know of the life I lead?

What can you know of the tears I bleed,

When the wolves of anguish, full fanged, feed,

When the daggers of Memory dig and hack

And Conscience stands at the torturer's rack?

To Make Legal and Financial Survey of Railroads

BY JAMES B. MORROW.

TEN lawyers from ten states—seasoned lawyers, the youngest of whom is fifty-two and the eldest sixty-eight years of age—are getting ready to make a legal and financial survey of all the railroads in the country.

They purpose, if plans are carried through, thoroughly to learn every fact and every delusion pertaining to the transportation question. Politically, the division is six democrats and four republicans. Five are senators and five are members of the House of Representatives.

At their head and chief over all, because he is the chairman of their committee, is Francis Griffith Newlands of Nevada, a transportation statesman, if there ever was one in America, whose studies of the freight problem, whether the carriage is done on land or water, have begun at its roots and extended upward and outward into all of its ramifications.



SENATOR FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, complexities, obscurities and contradictions.

The committee, indeed, was created by Congress at the suggestion of Senator Newlands, who says, as he has been saying for many years, that "the proper organization of a system of transportation is just as essential to the welfare of the people as is the creation of a proper financial system."

No such system, he declares, exists at present or ever has existed in the United States. The situation now can be likened to a slovenly factory, with wheels out of alignment, pulleys broken and leaks in the office as well as in the roof.

"Transportation by rail," Senator Newlands said, "is a business of six and seven. We are hauling more freight than any other country in the world, but we are doing the work scientifically. Terminals are choked and tracks are congested whenever there is a boom in business. Every man pays for freightage. His coat, hat and shoes, his butter, milk and bread are brought to him by the railroads. We have good tracks, sound bridges, powerful locomotives and wonderfully able and energetic railway managers, but the system is not as efficient as it should be.

The United States lack co-ordination. Their growth, it might be said, has been accidental—that is, without method. A railroad was built from one town to another within a state. The plan of the projectors went no farther.

"Interstate commerce, such as the trading of products between Massachusetts and Iowa, was to come much later. A traveler going from the small village of Chicago to New York purchased five or six tickets on the way and had his baggage hauled in wagons from one depot to another, as he changed trains and roads in his progress across the country.

"Railways, with few, if any exceptions, lost money. They attempted to make ends meet by transporting coarse and bulky products at low prices. There was a scramble for business, for money to pay the engineers and firemen and the conductors and brakemen. Rates were cut. Competition was rampant. Big shippers were favored. Small shippers suffered. Then began the agitation for control of the railroads and for the standardization of their charges. Laws were passed in piecemeal fashion by the states, and presently by the nation. In the meantime the states were increasing in number. There are forty-eight at present. Each has laws in respect to transportation. And there are great national laws bearing on the same subject.

"In short, there is chaos among the statutes. Nobody who knows the situation is satisfied with conditions. The railroads themselves are bitterly complaining. The short lines within the states have been joined together into long systems. There was no law for it but economic necessity. And the merging went on, though Congress never was kind enough to say that the act was indispensable to the development of our civilization.

"Commerce inside the states is now only one-fourth of the total commerce of the whole country. Shoes manufactured in Massachusetts are sold in California; and wheat grown in Minnesota becomes bread for the inhabitants of New York. The 6,000 little railway companies of the past have vanished and in their stead are 2,000 operating corporations, and most of them have been merged into one or two gigantic transportation organizations.

"Laws overlap, contradict and nullify one another. Statements as to facts are at variance. The railroads are rich and the railroads are poor, though widely opposite propositions, can be heard in the chorus of voices. Regulation is a failure and regulation is a success, proclaimed with positiveness, confounds the mind of the ordinary citizen. What, after all, is the truth?

"Thus I answer when you ask what prompted me to introduce the resolution calling for a committee of five senators and five representatives to investigate the transportation question in all its phases and particulars. I have believed for years that such an inquiry should be disseminated and that the mind of the people should be enlightened and have spoken and written my convictions on many occasions.

"Long ago I said, 'You began arguing for the introduction of the resolution calling for a committee of five senators and five representatives to investigate the transportation question in all its phases and particulars. I have believed for years that such an inquiry should be disseminated and that the mind of the people should be enlightened and have spoken and written my convictions on many occasions.'

"I thought that railroads should be nationalized, or incorporated by the federal government. They have outlived their usefulness. The situation which they were created for, the Pennsylvania railroad, for example, has tracks and now does business from the Atlantic ocean to the Mississippi river and from the great lakes to Kentucky. The New York Central railroad, as another illustration, is operating in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and several other states. There are roads which begin in Chicago and end in California or on the Canadian boundary in the northwest.



SENATOR OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD.

in plan and practice. Regulation, therefore, if not in law, then in equity, is mandatory.

"And proper regulation, in my view, must emanate from a power that is sufficient in itself to compel obedience and measure out justice. With a dozen states and the nation all making laws applicable to a single railway, there are bound to follow inconsistencies, evasions and abuses. The national incorporation law would gain, and the public would gain, their activities in politics and I go so far as to say, would give the country the benefits, if there are any, of government ownership without any of its dangers."

"But what would become of those persons who own the bonds and shares of railway corporations?" "No attempt would be made to raid the property of railroad investors," Senator Newlands answered. "The value of their securities should not be impaired or destroyed. Nor would it be, were the railroads given national charters. On the contrary, investors would gain, and the public would gain, because there would be unity of control, simplicity of organization, certainty of the financial position, of dividends, mathematical precision in the assessment of taxes and an automatic reduction in freight rates."

"Our lack of a systematized method of controlling transportation increases its cost. The increase comes from the uncertainty of which of the ordinary complexity is invariably more expensive than simplicity. Take, for example, our taxing process. Forty-eight states and the national government are taxing the railroads of the country. The assessment in some states is based on the value of the tracks and right of way, while in other states the franchise, or right to do business, is added to the assessment.

"Elsewhere it is argued that the total market value of the bonds and shares, as fixed on a certain day in Wall street, really establishes a just assessment for taxation purposes. Indeed, the railroads never know how much they are to pay next year or the year after, and thus uncertainty tends to keep up the rates on freight."

"If the actual cost of transportation were known, and the cost would include operation, maintenance, interest, dividends and taxes, it would not take long to ascertain what the railroads should charge for the services they perform. As it is, under forty-eight different systems, taxes may constantly

fluctuate, and thus constitute an uncertain factor in rate determination."

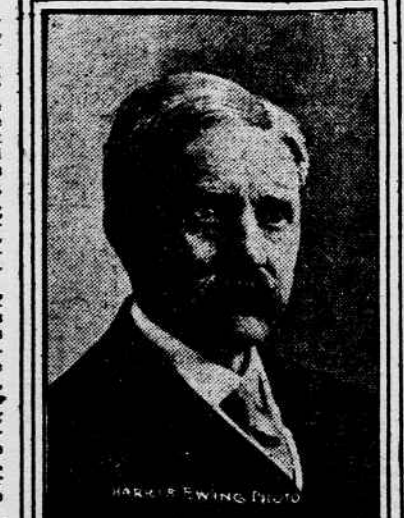
"In fact, the railroads are still in politics," was asked.

"To a certain extent," Senator Newlands replied. "It is not impossible for them entirely to stay out of politics. Their property is between the upper and nether millstones, and can be ground to destruction between the rate-regulating power and the tax-taking power of the public."

"Railroad officers are the guardians and managers of sixteen billions of property. They must protect it and use it wisely. They cannot stay out of politics so long as forty-eight states are legislating restrictions on and are taxing their property. I would keep them out of politics by providing a fair and uniform system of taxation that would be computable at all times and of taxing officers. Nor would the states lose any money by the change."

"The prices of a merchant or a manufacturer are governed by the cost of the goods he sells or makes. In all lines, except in transportation, the ascertainment of costs has been refined so that they can be figured down to the fraction of a cent. When costs are not known definitely, the seller, unwilling to take chances, adds to, rather than subtracts from a right and defensible price. Freight charges, in my opinion, would come down of themselves were our transportation system scientifically adjusted to the facts. When that is done, the railroads will disappear from politics."

"Under a national incorporation law Congress could prescribe a rule of taxation that would be uniform throughout the states on railroads chartered by the federal government. A railway thus incorporated would become a national instrumentality. The taxes, however, could be collected by the states. "Some of my party friends may say that I am departing from ancient doctrine and urging a centralization of

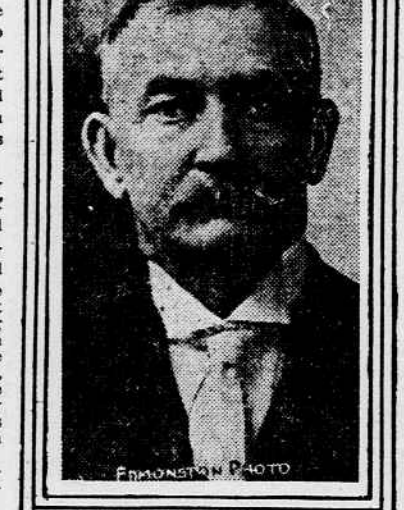


SENATOR ALBERT B. CUMMINS.

power. My reply would be that the railroads have become centralized into, as I have mentioned, eight or ten huge organizations. "Could the railroads be decentralized? Would any one suggest, much less attempt, to separate them into their original units? Could we do business nowadays with railroads that started

and ended at state lines? It would be impossible. "Logically, then, railroads should be legalized under proper restraints as to capitalization and profits and by the consideration of the national government, capable of dealing with them and the transportation question. This would not be 'centralization,' but 'unification.'"

"In the past I believed that the national government could and should control commerce between the states, but that the states ought to control



REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM C. ADAMSON.

commerce carried on within themselves, and that whenever the sovereigns differed comity and not force should adjust the differences. Decisions of the Supreme Court, however, tend to establish the doctrine that the legislation of the national government regarding interstate commerce annuls legislation of the states contradictory to it, and I yield, for hence, my judgment in the matter."

"Your committee," I said, "will also look into the facts about the public ownership and operation of railroads, telegraph and telephone lines and express companies."

"The resolution of Congress so instructs us," Senator Newlands answered. "Our efforts will be to learn if the regulation of railroads owned by individuals grouped together in corporations or the ownership and operation of railroads by the nation would better serve the people."

"Speaking for myself, I approach the inquiry with an open mind. The public, I think, wants the facts. Once the facts are known, the people, I am sure, will understand what ought to be done. We are trying regulation, but only crudely. Loose regulation is not adequate regulation. The committee, I hope, will show what can be accomplished by regulatory processes that fully meet all of the conditions of modern society and modern commerce."

"Would national ownership destroy individual investments?" "The only limitation upon the power of the American people over the highways and over common carriers, such as railroads, is that their legislation shall not be confiscatory in character. A man cannot get anything for nothing; neither can the government. If the railroads are ever taken over by the public, they must be paid for, and they ought to be paid for, I think, at the market quotations of their shares."

The bonds could run to their maturity. "In round figures, the railroads have \$8,000,000,000 of bonds and \$8,000,000,000 of stock outstanding. It is unnecessary to consider the bonds, market or otherwise, as a charge upon the property, as I have said, and need not be purchased by the nation. As they mature other bonds, if that is desirable, can be issued in their stead."

"Control of the property of the railroads could be obtained simply by purchasing their shares—the condemnation of their tracks, cars, engines and so on would not be required. Only the shares would need to be condemned—that is, the owners, by a law of Congress, would be compelled to sell to the government. The Panama railroad was bought by the nation in that way and the proceeding, as I remember, was approved by all the lawyers in the Senate."

"I am not saying that government ownership would be wise at this time or at any other time. I am merely explaining that it could be brought about without much difficulty. Our committee may take up the subject in detail. We intend to seek information from the managers of railroads, from shippers, financiers and from the public. "Owners of transportation securities have become alarmed over the situation and it is difficult for railroads to get new money for extensions and other needed improvements. Railroad managers themselves, in describing their troubles, have been so emphatic and impressive that they have frightened their stockholders."

"Railway bonds and shares ought to be as safe as the bonds of the national government and of the states. They should be popularized and eagerly sought by the rich and the poor alike, but before that can be brought about it will be necessary to regulate railroad capitalization."

"Immense sums of money are needed for new tracks and enlarged terminals. When business is good and there are crops to be moved, our transportation system fails to functionate up to the

measure of our prosperity. There would be no lack of capital for the improvement of our railroads if the people believed railway bonds and shares to be safe and solid investments. Our committee, possibly, may open the way for the restoration of confidence in that direction.

"Other matters, also, must be considered. I have said that our railroads in the main have been merged into

eight or ten great transportation systems. Control of separate roads in a system is obtained in several ways. All of the stock may be bought, or only a certain proportion of the stock may be purchased in the open market or privately from its owners. Again, a line may be leased or practically taken over under some arrangement as to title.

"Should the large corporations actually own all the tracks within their organizations? Is a question that needs to be answered. The combination of small roads into large ones is desirable and necessary, but it has been done without proper control in many instances and law should recognize and scrutinize all such adventures in the future. There are still other items in the program of the committee. In a word, we aim to learn what the railroads need and should do adequately to serve the public."

"Congress has directed the committee to report on or before the second Monday in January. More time will be required, I hope, however, that we

may be prepared early next year to state the facts and give our conclusions on some phases of the transportation question, or at least to report what we have learned, along with our recommendations, as to the issuance of railway securities."

The other members of the committee are: Joseph Taylor Robinson, senator from Arkansas and a former governor of his state; Oscar W. Underwood, senator from Alabama and the writer of the tariff law bearing his name; Albert B. Cummins, senator from Iowa, once a railroad lawyer; Frank B. Rowland, Brundage senator from Connecticut and a graduate of Yale; William Charles Adamson, representative from Georgia and the author of the recent eight-hour law; Thietus Willette Sims, representative from Tennessee; John Jacob Esch, representative from Wisconsin and a railroad specialist; William Allen Cullip, representative from Indiana, and Edward Latta Hamilton, representative from Michigan.

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Washington's Domed Buildings.

WASHINGTON possesses an unusual number of domed buildings. The student or lover of architecture finds here not only a great many but a great variety of domes. It is extraordinary that examples of all the domes of the favorite schools of architecture are grouped within the limits of this city. And such examples as they are! One of them alone would be sufficient to adorn any city, and the nation's capital.

Needless to say, the Capitol dome is Washington's dome par excellence. Its size alone gives it pre-eminence, and its beauty ranks it among the great domes of the world. The framework of this dome is of iron and it weighs nearly 9,000,000 pounds.

The keynote of its impressiveness is its massiveness; its curving sides, encircling rows of columns, vari-shaped windows and graceful segments of ornamentation, all of which are adjuncts to its impressive feature—its size. In height the Capitol dome reaches 277 feet to the top of its greatest dome, the dome of the dome, which is 135 feet.

Thomas Walter was its designer and executor, and it was erected at a cost of \$1,000,000. It represents the last portion to be added to the building. Seventy-two iron brackets and ribs bolt and screw it almost into rigidity. Allowance, of course, had to be made for contraction and expansion with the fluctuation in temperature, for the dome, like the Monument, sways to and fro.

Washington's most beautiful dome surmounts the Library of Congress. This has a diameter of 100 feet, making it almost as large as that of the Capitol; but, off-hand, one would certainly say that it is a much smaller dome. This is due to its shape. The Library dome is a flattened sphere, it is built of a framework of iron and steel filled with terra cotta. The domed roof is sheathed with copper and over this is laid the coating of gold leaf, twenty-three carats fine.

As far as ornamentation goes, this dome is the most exquisite in the United States. The interior walls are superbly painted and adorned with arabesques.

The National Museum possesses a dome neither huge nor extremely ornate; yet it is one of the most pleasing domes to the architectural eye that is found in the city. It recalls the dome on the Pantheon at Rome; in the matter of contour they are quite similar. This dome surmounts the hall which connects the three main divisions of the museum exhibit—the geological, ethnological and zoological. It is constructed of tile, covered on the exterior with a fine quality of slate. Each row of the dome, from the outer edge of the dome to the eye, at the top, had to be exactly cut to fit the spaces.

These are Washington's three official domes. In addition to them are several church domes of large dimensions and varying ornateness. The Jewish synagogues of the city give a Byzantine touch to the capital's architectural horizon. The synagogue at the corner of 6th and I streets has the true Arabian dome. The Eighth Street Synagogue, adorned with smaller domes, which do not actually sink as domes, but are correctly designated as cupolas.

St. Matthew's Roman Catholic Church, on Rhode Island avenue, has a very large dome; in fact, it is a feature of the church. The dome is of the shape of a dome, somewhat analogous to that of the dome on St. Peter's in Rome. The dome of the church is the only church in the city so elaborately adorned. The Franciscan monastery at Brookland provides an example of the dome that is to be found on the famous St. Sofia Mosque at Constantinople. Of course, it is well known that this mosque was built when Constantinople was the capital of the eastern Roman empire, and it was used as a cathedral before the Turks converted it to their purposes. The dome on the monastery is oval in shape, and unlike the true Saracenic dome, is not mounted with a spire or flanked with minarets.

One of the most interesting features of the dome on the crossing of the nave and the transepts, and they are disconcerting to the eye, are the many small domes of construction, though their chief utilitarian purpose in any building is to give light. They present so many opportunities for the display of ornaments that they are used today almost solely for beauty and not for use.

The Stuffing.

COL. ROOSEVELT was condemning a nature faker at a luncheon at Oyster Bay. "Why," said Col. Roosevelt, his eyes flashing, with scorn behind his glasses "why, this nature faker is as ignorant of animals as Hank Hurlingham was." "Hank Hurlingham once visited the Natural History Museum. The curator said to him, 'This collection of stuffed animals that you see here is worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. Why, what the dickens are they stuffed with?'